

Fame only emerges clearly in later pictures, most notably in a rendition of the procession of Maria de Medicis through the city, which is dated to 1638. Surviving in the form of an engraving made by James Basire in 1775, it shows the Standard just behind the Cross with a statue on its top.¹⁰

Performed in the year reparation works were completed, *The Sun in Aries* (1621) provides further reason to believe that the statue of Fame was added on at this time. Written by Thomas Middleton, the mayoral show sees the Lord Mayor 'gracefully conducted toward the new Standard', where he meets 'one in a cloudy ruinous habit' who 'throws off his unseemly garments' upon the Lord Mayor's arrival. Clearly a personification of the Standard, the character remarks:

how brave I am become!
Fame fixed upon my head. Beneath me, round,
The figures of illustrious princes. . .¹¹

This would suggest that the figure of Fame had been affixed to the structure just prior to the devising of the mayoral show. If, as is implied in the speech, the six 'princes' also were added on at the same time, the statue of Fame cannot have been on the Standard prior to 1603 because the speech identifies these as figures of six English monarchs, including James I. In this light, it appears that *The Sun in Aries* is in fact the first mayoral show to allude to the Standard by referencing Fame simply because there was no corresponding statue on the Standard prior to this.

Examining a selection of royal entries and mayoral shows in London, Kipling demonstrates how Fame is not an isolated element in these pageants, but part of their recreation of the *Trionfi*'s plot and structure.¹² As such, the frequent references to Fame in mayoral shows may be better understood as the result of the influence of Petrarch's *Trionfi* on the development of the genre. By misattributing the inclusion of Fame to the presence of a purportedly corresponding structure in London's main street, we undervalue the bearing of classical tradition on pageant writers. Although attention in the last decade to the places and structures of early

modern London has greatly enriched our understanding of drama of the period, it behoves us to be careful in the assumptions we make when there is such limited evidence to guide us.

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjae018>

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Advance Access publication 10 March, 2024

THE INFLUENCE OF ARIOSTO'S *ORLANDO FURIOSO* ON FLETCHER AND MASSINGER'S *THE SEA VOYAGE*

The sources of *The Sea Voyage* (1622), a tragicomedy co-written by John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, have attracted much critical attention as the play is undoubtedly influenced and contaminated by multiple poems, prose works and dramatic texts. Scholars have identified many of the sources which inspired *The Sea Voyage* and attempted to determine how each of them contributed to shaping this collaborative play.¹ In his authoritative catalogue, Martin Wiggins lists the following texts as sources of the play: William Warner's *Pan's Syrinx* (1584, rev. 1597), Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (Book V, Canto IV; 1596, repr. 1617), Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* (1605, repr. 1607, translated into English by John Healey as *The Discovery of a New World* in 1609, as for the female commonwealth), John Nicholl's *An Hourglass of Indian News* (1607, as for 1.4–5), William Strachey's *The Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates* (1610, as for 1.1–2), Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (Canto XIX, 1516–32, as for 1.1–2) and two Shakespearean plays, namely *The Winter's Tale* (as for 5.4) and *The Tempest*.² Nevertheless, the

¹ Emil Koepfel, *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's* (Strassburg, 1879); Gustav Adolf Jacobi in 'Zur Quellenfrage von Fletcher's *The Sea Voyage*', *Anglia* xxxiii (1910), 332–43; Gordon McMullan, *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, 1994); John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, in *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester, 2000), 135–216; Martin Wiggins in association with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama: 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, 9 Vols. (Oxford, 2012–18), #2020.

² For other sources, see Ladan Niayesh, 'Une nouveauté vieille comme le monde: *The Sea Voyage* (1622) de John Fletcher et Philip Massinger'. In ed. Franck Lessay and François Laroque,

¹⁰ James Basire, *A North East View of Cheapside with the Cross and Conduit and part of the procession of Marie de Medicis* (London, 1775).

¹¹ Middleton, 1591.

¹² Gordon Kipling, 'Triumphal Drama: Form in English Civic Pageantry', *Renaissance Drama* viii (1977), 47–54.

contribution provided by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* has been underestimated as it is more profound than generally assumed and not limited to Canto XIX.³ The poem was well-known in early modern England in Italian and in Sir John Harington's English translation (published in 1591). I would not exclude that Fletcher and Massinger read the poem in its original language, also considering their familiarity with Italian literature and culture⁴ but they are more likely to have read it in translation, in the wake of Francis Beaumont's views. In a prefatory letter to the works of Geoffrey Chaucer edited by Thomas Speght, Fletcher's most famous writing partner praised Harington's translation, observing that Ariosto 'instructed by M. Harington doth now speak as good English as he did Italian before'.⁵

The main source of *The Sea Voyage* is Warner's *Pan's Syrinx*, which provides the framework of the tragicomedy: a storm brings some Assyrian men (among them there are Arbaces and Sorares) to the island ruled by Dircilla, a fierce woman 'armed much to Amazonian fashion'.⁶ The characters are threatened to be killed because of Dircilla's hatred against Assyrians, who murdered her parents and dragged her away. The story has a positive resolution when the governess realizes that Arbaces and Sorares are respectively her husband and son. Moreover, as Jane Grogan rightly notices, the text also influenced 'the central plot' of the tragicomedy 'involving the insatiety (and insanity) of colonial gold-lust'.⁷ The similarities with the synopsis of Fletcher and Massinger's play are evident: the arrival of the protagonists on an island after a storm (the French captain Albert,

his crew and a young woman he has kidnapped, Aminta), a form of female leadership reminiscent of the mythological Amazons (Rosella, her daughter Clarinda and a group of Portuguese women), the male characters' thirst for money, and the final reconciliation between a husband (Sebastian) and a wife (Rosella), separated for a long time.

The storm scene at the beginning of the play, resonant with *The Tempest*, is also indebted to *Orlando Furioso's* Canto XIX (35–42). In the play, Aminta is the only woman in a group of men who reach the island ruled by Rosella. Similarly in the poem, the female warrior Marfisa and other knights shipwreck on the coast of the city of Alessandretta. The master of the ship is reluctant to go ashore as he knows ferocious Amazons inhabit the land:

They call them Amazons that here do dwell,
Here women guide, and rule, and gouerne all,
The men from gouernment they do expell,
Some they do kill, the rest keepe bond and thrall,
He sole shall scape that runs at tilt so well,
As first to make ten men of theirs to fall,
And next in venery and flesh delight,
Can satisfie ten women in one night.⁸

The tragicomedy features a similar commonwealth of women, whose literary source has not been unequivocally identified. If for Gustave Adolf Jacobi it was inspired by Warner's work, for Gordon McMullan it was shaped after Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*, since 'it is clear that Fletcher, in collaboration with Massinger, draws on Hall's Amazonia' which is described in the second book ('The description of *Shee-landt*, or *Womandecoia*').⁹ Emil Koepfel, instead, who thoroughly investigated the sources of Massinger's plays, did not exclude Ariosto but did not explore his possible influence any further, thus leaving the question of the episode's source unanswered. Even though both texts were read and assimilated into the tragicomedy, I contend that the main inspiration came from Canto XX of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. In *Pan's Syrinx*, Dircilla is abandoned on an island where she civilizes the savage inhabitants (not an exclusively female group) and rules over them:

By this meanes therefore it came to passe,
that those Ilanders had alreadie in deuosion,

Innovation et Tradition de la Renaissance aux Lumières (Paris, 2002), 53–63.

³ Ariosto surfaces in the play also in the form of an allusion to one of the poem's most iconic characters, when one of the Portuguese women is compared to Bradamante: 'to help ye here's a Bradamante', III.i.317. John Fletcher and Philip Massinger, *The Sea Voyage*, ed. Fredson Bowers, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 Vols. (Cambridge, 1966–96), vol. 9.

⁴ For an analysis of Massinger and Fletcher's engagement with Italian culture and literature, see Cristina Paravano, *Massinger's Italy: Re-Imagining Italian Culture in the Plays of Philip Massinger* (London and New York, 2023).

⁵ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Workes of our Ancient and learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer*, newly Printed (London, 1602), sig. A5.

⁶ William Warner, *Syrinx, or A Sevenfold History*, ed. Wallace A. Bacon (Evanston, IL, 1950), 164.

⁷ Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549–1622* (New York, 2014), 100.

⁸ John Harington, *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (London, 1607), IX, XLII, 1–8.

⁹ McMullan, 239.

deified their Gouvernesse *Dircilla*: for such as was *Pallas* to the *Grecians*, and *Isis* to the *Aegyptians*, so and such was she to this people: and albeit yeres (for now was she very aged) had wrought a naturall decay in her beauty being yet more then ordinarie, neyther place, time, nor troubles had so empayred the Maiestie of her lookes, or impugned the magnanimity of her hart, but that armed much to the *Amazonian* fashion, she seemed more warlike the *Penthisilea*, or rather more terrible then *Bellona* her selfe.¹⁰

Rosella is partially modelled on *Dircilla*. Both women are no longer young: there is some emphasis on their age but also on their strength and qualities as leaders. Yet, unlike *Dircilla*, Rosella does not civilize the savages but becomes the natural leader in the group of Portuguese women abandoned on the island with her. In Hall's work, instead, there is a land divided into two regions run by women, each relying on a myth related to the Amazons: in Shrewes-bour women rule over men, while in Gossipingoa and Cockatrixia, men are imprisoned and exploited for sexual purposes. Women

lay their ambushes for, and fetch them in first by loose allurements, then by praies, and then by pence, and if none of these meanes will worke, they compeell them to serve their wanton desires by force. And when they have done so, just as you see stallion horses kept for breede, so are they stowed into custody.¹¹

The extract emphasizes the exploitation of men as sexual partners, an issue which is mentioned also in *The Sea Voyage* but it is not as crucial as in Hall's work. Both Warner's and Hall's prose works undeniably inspired Fletcher and Massinger but the story told by Guidon about the Amazons in Ariosto's Canto XX bears more resemblances with the tragicomedy in terms of plot, offering details that are absent from the other sources.

In Ariosto's poem, the characters land on an island where they meet a group of women who have turned Amazons after being abandoned and robbed by their Cretan lovers. As a form of retaliation for the wrongs they suffered, the women decided to assault any ship in their harbour and kill its crew.

Then they softened their approach and started to use men as sexual partners (daughters born from these relationships were kept while sons were killed or bartered), before imprisoning and sacrificing them. They are driven by an unquenchable thirst for revenge, especially Orontea, their leader, who built 'vnto reuenge a solemne alter'.¹² The Portuguese women in the play, wronged and deprived of their belongings by some French pirates, are guided by the same vengeful spirit. The necessity of revenge, always associated with Rosella, is recurrent in the play. The character rejoices when she realizes that she has finally found the men who had robbed them: 'O my Starrs / Be now for ever blest, that have brought / To my revenge these robbers' (*SV* III.i.408–10). She justifies her actions against them by claiming that 'in a Noble cause revenge is Noble' (*SV* V.i.8).

On the other hand, Ariosto's poem offers a model for the mother-and-daughter relationship, a detail which does not appear in the other supposed sources for the episode. Orontea has a daughter, Alessandra, who immediately falls for the prisoner Elbanio. In the poem, Elbanio, whose name may recall Albert in the play, is described as 'a comely tall strong man, and fauord well, / And in his speech and manners passing grace',¹³ which matches with Albert's portrayal as a handsome, well-educated man, who humbly addresses women as goddesses and whose lips are 'Rubies' (*SV* II. ii.159) and eyes 'Two Sunnes' (*SV* II.ii.168). As soon as Alessandra lays eyes on Elbanio, she feels 'thousand stings of *Cupid* in her brest',¹⁴ while Clarinda, likewise, has 'tittulations' (II.ii.186). The two young women make a passionate plea and convince their mothers to spare the object of their desire. To please her daughter and the other women who have expressed their natural sexual needs, Orontea resolves to save Elbanio's life:

And chiefly she that ouer all did raigne,
Doth seeke herein her daughters mind to please,
With many reasons answring her againe,
And point by point did all her speech confute,
And in the end obtaind her daughters sute.¹⁵

Similarly, Rosella decides to comply with her daughter's request: 'Can no perswasion alter ye?

¹⁰ Warner, 164.

¹¹ Joseph Hall, *The Discovery of a New World*, ed. Huntington Brown, trans. John Healey (Cambridge, 1937), 70.

¹² Harington, XX, XXVII, 7.

¹³ Ibid. XX, XXIX, 3–4.

¹⁴ Ibid. XX, XXXIV, 7.

¹⁵ Ibid. XX, XL, 4–8.

Suppose / You had my suffrage to your sute' (*SV* II.ii.218–9).

Finally, there is another aspect that points to Ariosto's Canto XX. One of the other proven sources of the play is Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. In the fourth Canto of book V, the knight Artegal meets the 'Queene of Amazons' (V.iv.33, 5).¹⁶ He is kept in prison by an Amazon named Clarinda, who falls in love with him, like Alessandra in Ariosto's poem. The playwrights took from here the name of Rosella's daughter in the play (in turn the name is indebted to Clorinda, from Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*). As is known, Spenser's poem was profoundly influenced by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and the aforementioned episode of the Amazons looks back to canto XX.¹⁷ For example, Spenser explicitly referred to an idea expressed in Canto XX in Ariosto's romance. In *The Faerie Queene* (V.iv.32), Artegal claims that he would prefer death over his imprisonment: 'I rather chose to die in lues despight, / Then lead that shameful life, vnworthy of a Knight' (V.iv.32.8–9). In Canto XX, Guidon, who is recounting the story of the ferocious women on the island, makes a similar statement: 'né sperando io, se non per morte, uscire / di sì vil servitù, bramo morire' (XX.64.7–8).¹⁸ It is suggestive to think that Fletcher and Massinger directly drew on Ariosto's Canto XX but also indirectly through Spenser's poem. In conclusion, the episode of the female commonwealth in *The Sea Voyage* was more likely based on Canto XX of *Orlando Furioso*, whose storyline is followed more closely, and then integrated with incidents, themes and names from *Pan's Syrinx* and *Mundus alter et idem*.

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<https://doi.org/10.1093/notesj/gjae024>

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Advance Access publication 14 March, 2024

¹⁶ Edmund Spenser, *Spenser: The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, text edited by Hiroshi Yamashita, Toshiyuki Suzuki, and Shohachi Fukuda, rev. 2nd edn (Harlow, UK, 2007).

¹⁷ See, for example: 'The cruelty of Amazons, noted at 23.8 and v. 47.1, is traditional. As in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 20.22–27, it derives from sexual frustration' (Spenser, 535).

¹⁸ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ed. Cristina Zampese (Milan, 2012). ('Except by death, I do not hope to escape such vile slavery, I long to die'. The translation is mine. Spenser relied on the Italian original as these two lines are not included in Harington's version.

THE PAINTER WILLIAM SHEPPARD (FL. 1641–60) AT THE HAGUE IN 1647

Relatively little is known about the life and career of the painter William Sheppard between February 1641, when he was first mentioned as a London 'Picture maker', and sometime around 1660 when, after years of continental travel, he was back in England. 'During the Commonwealth years', the author of the article on Sheppard in the *Dictionary of National Biography* has plausibly suggested, the painter 'may have allied himself with the exiled royalists'.¹ While in Venice, indeed, Sheppard became more closely associated with the dramatist Thomas Killigrew (1612–83), Charles II's resident to the Venetian republic, whose portrait he painted (and signed) in 1650—the only painting by Sheppard known to have survived, in several versions.² Apart from his presence in Rome and Venice between 1649 and 1651 and a journey from Italy to Constantinople in the latter year, no further evidence has emerged about Sheppard's whereabouts in the late 1640s and the 1650s.

As appears from a hitherto unnoticed snippet of information, contained in a notarial act preserved in the city archives of The Hague, Sheppard settled down in the Netherlands before setting out for Italy.³ On 25 July 1647, 'William Scheppard, Englishman' made an agreement with Jacob

¹ Carol Blackett-Ord, 'Sheppard, William (fl. 1641–1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25348>> (accessed 8 Jan. 2024). If mentioned at all, Sheppard's name is usually linked with that of the graphic artist Francis Barlow (c. 1626–1704), who was apprenticed to Sheppard in the 1640s. See Edward Hodnett, *Francis Barlow. First Master of English Book Illustration* (London, 1978), 14; Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and Ornamentists: With Notices of their Lives and Work* (London, 1878), 24; and Nathan Flis, 'The Drawings of Francis Barlow: From Apprenticeship to "Aesop's Fables," 1648–66', *Master Drawings* xlix (2011), 479–532 (480).

² Albert Wertheim, 'A New Light on the Dramatic Works of Thomas Killigrew', *Studies in Bibliography* xxiv (1971), 149–52. One other painting by Sheppard, of admiral Sir Henry Terne (d. 1666), is only known through an engraving by [William] Faithorne: see M. J. H. Livenside, 'A Drawing for William Sheppard's Portrait of Thomas Killigrew', *The Burlington Magazine* cxi (1969), 145 + 147.

³ Gemeentearchief Den Haag. Notarieel archief, 0372-01, inv. 77, folio 191. For the sake of brevity I am omitting the formulae opening and closing lines of this twenty-line act. I am only providing, in translation, the relevant phrases of the document, signed by the two parties concerned and by two witnesses before notary public Pieter van Groenweghen.